A STUDY OF THE DRUM LANGUAGE IN ADZOGBO

by

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The Eve-speaking people of the Guinea Coast of West Africa are rightly renowned for their highly developed drumming and dancing. Among the most exciting of their dances is Adzogbo, originally a warriors' dance of the Fō-speaking people of the ancient kingdom of Dahomey and now a recreational dance for the Fō and Eve people of southern Benin, Togo and Ghana. Adzogbo is one of the most complex of the Eve dances, both in the intricacy of its polyrhythmic texture and the precise relationship of the rhythms of the master drum to the vigorous movements of the dancers. An outstanding feature of Adzogbo is the key role of drum language in the dance: every sequence of dance movements is introduced by a spoken or sung text which is then almost exactly reproduced in the rhythms of the master drum. Adzogbo thus provides excellent material for an analysis of drum language, especially the relationship between speech tone and drum strokes. In this article we shall sketch the general background of the dance and then look in detail at six examples of spoken texts and their associated drum rhythms.

The Adzogbo group

Adzogbo is said to have been a means for Dahomeyan war gods to communicate information about an impending battle to warriors. Several weeks before an encounter adolescent boys were secluded in the forest so that they might be made pure and fit to become spirit mediums. They were treated with herbs, kept apart from women and trained in the esoteric lore of the war gods associated with Adzogbo. The gods themselves were believed to dictate the dance movements and choreography that the boys practised. On the appointed day the boys were brought from the forest to dance Adzogbo before the warriors. Some of their members would become possessed with the spirit of a war god, and the war leader endeavored to foretell the course of the up-coming battle by interpreting the boys' dance movements, seeking clues from the deities on ways to protect themselves in battle. The legendary war leader Kondo is especially associated with this tale.

With the pacification of West Africa by the end of the 19th century the dance lost this esoteric function yet remained a vehicle for men to display their strength, agility and virile spirit. Adzogbo spread westward from Dahomey into Togo and as far as Aflao at the border of Ghana and Togo. Today, Adzogbo has become a recreational music but its original character as a war dance is not lost. Many of the dance sequences depict fighting scenes, notably boxing, and are replete with rapid spinning, leaping, etc. The dance demands tremendous stamina from the dancers and utmost concentration from the drummers. Although there are no longer intertribal wars in West Africa, modern life itself is a struggle. In Adzogbo men can express their inner strength and courage to meet life's hardships.

Modern Adzogbo groups still retain a close relationship with supernatural powers. A deity or fetish is associated with the group which protects the members. One of

the group members is in charge of the ceremonial for the god, performing the obligatory sacrifices and other customary observances in the special shrine where the image of the god is kept. Before each performance he pours libation to the god asking for his help and protection. No one god is especially linked to *Adzogbo*; any minor deity of the group's choice can be invoked to protect it. Members of the group no longer become possessed with the spirit of the god during performances.

Like many traditional Eve dances Adzogbo is performed by men and women joined together in formally institutionalized social groups, with officers, bye-laws, etc. (See Ladzekpo: 1971 and Jones: 1959). The elderly leaders of the group do not take an active part in the dancing and drumming but observe a performance from a place of honor behind the drummers. Dancers are both men and women ranging in age from their late teens to mid-thirties. Adzogbo is a strenuous dance and only fully mature individuals can partake in a performance. Indeed a dancer who falls down during a performance risks not only the ridicule of the audience but the displeasure of the deity associated with the group. The number of dancers varies according to the size of the community and the popularity of the group and can range from fifteen to thirty dancers of both sexes.

The costume of an Adzogbo dancer is elaborate, particularly for a man. A woman's costume is gaily printed cloth worn in the usual West African fashion, although no head kerchief is used. Unlike other Eve dancing groups there is no standardized cloth for the whole group; each woman is responsible for her own cloth. It is a matter of individual and family pride that a dancer appear in fine cloth.

Competition over costumes is very keen among the men, for their costume offers the chance for almost unlimited display of finery and wealth. Perhaps the most conspicuous part of the costume is the vast number of cloths arranged on cords and tied about a dancer's waist and abdomen in such a way that the folds of cloth stand out thickly from his body. One dancer may wear as many as twenty pairs of women's cloth. The number of cloths used depends on the wealth of the dancer's family and also his strength and agility, for if he wears too many cloths he may be unable to execute the fast turns and leaps required in the dance. Many head kerchiefs of different colors are tied about the upper torso. The cloths and kerchiefs create a dazzling blur of color as the dancer spins and twirls. The shoulders are covered with another head kerchief and gold jewelry is worn about the neck. A floppy cotton cap adorns the head. The entire upper body and arms are covered with white talcum powder to enhance the extraordinary quality of the dancer's appearance.

Below the waist the dancer wears atsaka or special Eve dancing shorts. The knees also receive special attention: first they are wrapped with protective bandage; then small gourd rattles are fastened around the knee which accentuate the rhythms created by the dancer's footwork; lastly two raffia "skirts" are tied on each knee. The under "skirt" is always kept in the shrine of the Adzogbo group's guardian deity. Since the principal idol symbolizing the god is never taken from its shrine, the raffia skirts represent the god during a performance, protecting the group from evil and guiding the dancers in their movements. One member of the group is responsible for gathering any loose strands which fall from the raffia "skirts" during the heat of a performance because it is feared they might be used to invoke malevolent supernatural forces against the group.

The drums used in Adzogbo are the standard Eve drums constructed with staves of odum' wood held together by iron rings much like a barrel. Formerly carved drums were used. The drum orchestra is led by the master drum (atsimevu) which is responsible for interpreting the introductory texts and cueing the dancers for all their many movements. At times two atsimevu playing in unison are used. The atsimevu is supported by two drums of intermediate size (sogo and kidi) which play rhythms complementing those of the master drum. The rhythmic foundation of the orchestra is provided by the bell (gaykogui) and rattle (axatse). The smallest supporting drum (kagay) plays a steady rhythm which enriches the polyrhythmic nexus of the whole ensemble. The drums are placed at the rear of the dancing ring behind the dancers.

Performance

A performance of Adzogbo generally takes place in the afternoon and may last from two to six p.m. Performances are held when a group member dies, at periodic occasions when the members want to make a public display, at a special occasion such as a funeral of a non-group member when the group is hired for the event, or at stool festivals or other important public holidays when durbars with traditional drumming and dancing are held. When a performance is about to begin the drummers arrange themselves at the rear of the dancing ring. The atsimevu is on the extreme right and the sogo, kidi and kagay are placed in a line to the master drummer's left. Benches are provided behind the drummers for the bell and rattle players and the elders of the group. A table with several towels and a large container of drinking water is placed in the center of the dancing ring. One of the group's officers is assigned to control the audience, keeping the dancing ring in its proper size and shape. When the elders have been seated and the dancers are nearly ready a libation of water and corn flour is poured to the ancestors of the group and, especially at funerals, the spirit of the deceased.

An Adzogbo performance has two parts: it begins with a section for the female dancers known as Kadodo and ends with the dance of the men called Atsiā. Before the drumming starts the female dancers form a semi-circle in front of the drummers and sing songs in free rhythm without accompaniment. After some time the song leader raises a song in strict rhythm to signal the drummers to start. The basic Kadodo dance movement is a side-to-side step which can be danced both gracefully with fluid gestures and vigorously with much shifting of the hips, depending on the rhythm of the master drum. The women also have several special movement sequences which are closely linked to atsimevu rhythms. The form of the Kadodo, then, is an alternation between the basic side-to-side step and the special movements sequences. There is much singing in Kadodo although it usually stops during the vigorous sections of the dance. Although each dancer must keep to the principal features of the dance there is great scope for individual interpretation and personal display. The entire Kadodo may last from forty-five minutes to one hour. The women may dance for a while and then return to the songs in free rhythm to rest before calling for another round of vigorous dancing.

As the Kadodo nears its end several of the women leave the dancing ring to help the men where they are dressing. The female song leader raises a song which calls the male dancers asking whether they are ready and the women who have joined the men sing the affirmative reply. The song leader then raises another song which the master drummer echoes on the atsimevu providing the rhythm for the men to dance into the ring. They briefly dance around the ring showing themselves to the audience and then go back to the dressing area to make last minute adjustments to the costumes. It is very important that the cloths, kerchiefs, raffia skirts, etc. are well tied. If the female dancers are so moved they can dance the Kadodo for a while longer to give the men time to fix their costumes. At last another song is raised, and the men dance into the arena for the serious Atsiā.

The $Atsi\bar{a}$ features many elaborate and complex movement sequences which largely depict war-like scenes although comparatively recent recreational and religious themes are also expressed. An individual movement sequence is also called $atsi\bar{a}$, a word usually translated as "style" or "display". These $atsi\bar{a}$ are traditional rhythm/movement compositions in which the dancers' movements are carefully timed to fit the rhythms of the master drum. Each style is introduced by a spoken text recited by the leader of the male dancers which contains the theme expressed in the subsequent dance sequence. The master drum rhythm is based on this text and, as we shall see, the strokes are carefully chosen to represent the speech tone pattern of the text.

The first 'styles' in the Atsiā are introduced by songs sung by the entire group. The first sample of drum language presented below is an example of this type. Having completed these opening 'styles', the male dancers form a semi-circle at any point in the dance ring. The dance leader now dramatically chants the text of any 'style' of his choice. As he speaks the last phrase of the text the bell starts and the master drummer leads the drummers in their rhythmic representation of the spoken text. The drum language is performed twice: first for the dance leader to demonstrate the movement sequence and again for all the men to dance. After each 'style' the dancers then rest for a while, moving freely around the ring, perhaps using the towels and drinking water to refresh themselves. When the dance leader starts another dance segment the dancers reform the semi-circle and prepare for action. The position of the dancers' semi-circle in the ring is always shifting, giving the entire audience a chance to see well.

The number of 'styles' performed in the $Atsi\tilde{a}$ depends on many factors including the strength of the dancers, and the time limits of the performance. Typically the $Atsi\tilde{a}$ may last about one hour and contain ten to fifteen 'styles'. During the $Atsi\tilde{a}$ the women dance the basic Kadodo movement in a line in front of the drummers. In recent years it has become acceptable for a woman to join the men and execute a male dance segment displaying her knowledge of the dance and her dancing skill. When the dancers are tired the dance leader recites a certain text and the master drummer plays the 'style' which takes the men from the dancing ring.

Drum language

We shall now present six examples of the introductory texts and their associated drum language for the 'styles' in the $Atsi\tilde{a}$ section of Adzogbo. Texts were chosen that elucidate important aspects of Adzogbo and whose associated rhythms typify the play of the master drum. Three different types of 'style' are represented: those

with a sung introduction (Ex. 1), those with moderate pace, $J_0 = 108-126$ (Exs. 1-5) and those with fast pace, $J_0 = 164-184$ (Ex. 6). For each example we shall briefly discuss the significance of the text and then present the text, corresponding drum strokes and translation in the line-by-line manner shown below:

drum strokes text translation

The atsimevu player uses a complement of seven basic strokes and four supplementary strokes which are designated by a vocable as shown below. Among traditional Eve musicians there is a great variety of vocables for each stroke and, in fact, the same syllable can be used to refer to several strokes. The authors have refined the traditional Eve system of drum mnemonics into the following standardised set of syllables:

ga: a bouncing stroke with the palm of the hand in the center of the drum head.2

de: a bouncing stroke with a stick in the center of the drum head.

gi: a bouncing stroke with the fingers at the edge of the drum head.

dzi: a pressed stroke with the fingers at the edge of the drum head.

tsi: a pressed stroke with a stick in the center of the drum head.

to: a bouncing stroke with a stick in the center of the drum head while at the same time pressing the vellum with the other hand.

kpa: a bouncing stroke with a stick on the side of the drum.

In addition to these seven basic strokes, the following supplementary strokes are also used:

dza: the simultaneous sounding of ga and kpa.

kre: de followed immediately by gi. gre or vle: gi followed immediately by de.

vlo: playing dzi and to in very rapid succession

Although our work was done independently of previous scholarship on Eve drum mnemonics our set of strokes and syllables largely conforms to those presented by Jones (1959) and Pantaleoni (1972a); Pantaleoni's list of basic strokes is identical to ours with the addition of a variation of ga. The correspondence between Pantaleoni's basic strokes and ours is shown below.³

antaleoni's identification	Standardised syllables
 Ringing sound 	gi
Center stroke	ga
3. Pressed stroke	dzi
4. Center pressed stroke	-
5. Stick shot	de
6. Pressed shot	tsi
7. Muted shot	tə
8. Koga	kpa

Jones (1959) also presents a similar set of drum strokes. He distinguishes four kinds of strokes which correspond to our standardised set of drum syllables as follows:⁴

1. Free beat
2. Muted beat
3. Secondary muted beat
4. Secondary muted beat, center
de, gi, ga
tsi, dzi
to
none

Readers should consult the plates at the end of Studies in African Music, Vol. 1, for pictures of many of the Eve drum strokes.⁵

The transcriptions show the atsimevu rhythms with the associated introductory texts beneath. The transcription of Ex. 1 contains the introductory song and the associated atsimevu part. The bell rhythm is placed at the top of each transcription. The atsimevu rhythms have been carefully aligned beneath in order to check the vertical relationship between the bell and atsimevu parts. The position of notes on the atsimevu staff indicates the type of stroke rather than actual pitch. Strokes are placed on the staff in terms of their relative pitch (see Fig. 1).

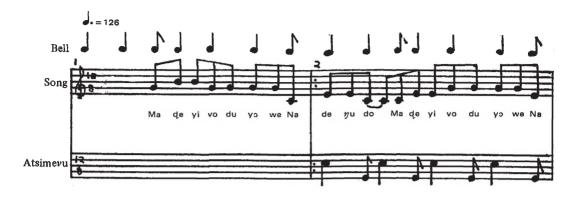


Fig. 1

Example 1

This is an example of a 'style' with a sung introduction, the type customarily performed at the beginning of the $Atsi\bar{a}$ section. This song makes reference to the etiquette governing the rituals that are performed for the group's guardian deity and revered ancestors. Before addressing the deity the supplicant must kneel and touch his or her head to the earth (lines i and ii) and respectfully ask for the god's attention (line iii).

i	Leader:	dzadzi dzadzi (waiting rhythm) : Madē yi vôdū yɔśwē³ Anyone who goes to call a god	
ü	Group:	ga de ga <i>Nā dēŋu dò :</i> ∥ Must bow down his head.	
iii	Leader and Group:	ga de tegi de dzi to de ga ga de E - nú - gbể yí lã mể gbể 'gòo mã dô Anyone who visits a place will not refuse to say "Agoo".	0
iv		ga kre t5 tɔ tɔ Ma - qé yi vô - dū y5 - wế Anyone who goes to call a god	
v		dzadzi dzadzi (waiting rhythm) Nã dếŋu đồ Must bow down his head.	







The song has the antiphonal form which characterizes much of African vocal music: the dance leader and the group alternate lines i and ii twice and then sing the rest of the song together. After the song has been sung once the drums enter with a 'waiting rhythm' which does not represent the text (measures 2 and 5). The drum language itself begins when line ii is sung for the second time.

The next four examples are typical of the majority of 'styles' in the Atsiā section of Adzogbo. In each 'style' the dance leader recites the text in free rhythm but the bell starts during the last line of the text so that the drums can enter in their correct poly rhythmic alignment.

This text is spoken from the point of view of warriors about to go to war. It begins with an oath of sincere commitment sworn to the ancestors (lines i-iii). As Eve custom demands, the oath is sworn three times (line ii). Lines iv-vii refer to the warrior's guardian deity, in this case a river god. The proverb in line iv stresses that the god, the "sand in the river", will always be present to protect the men. Lines v-vii indicate that the warriors performed the necessary rites for their god before they set out for battle.



Mi-dî ye mî-di

ye mi-di

Mi-di ye mi-di ye mi-di

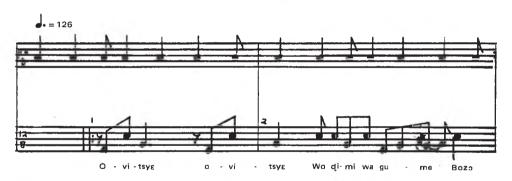




This text is spoken from the perspective of a man who was invited to join the Adzogbo dancers by a younger fellow. The man was not sure of the steps but felt confident because he thought he could rely on the young fellow to guide him. When they entered the dancing ring, however, the fellow walked away and the man was left to dance alone. Since the deity associated with Adzogbo is known to kill any dancer who falls down, the action of the younger dancer was serious indeed.

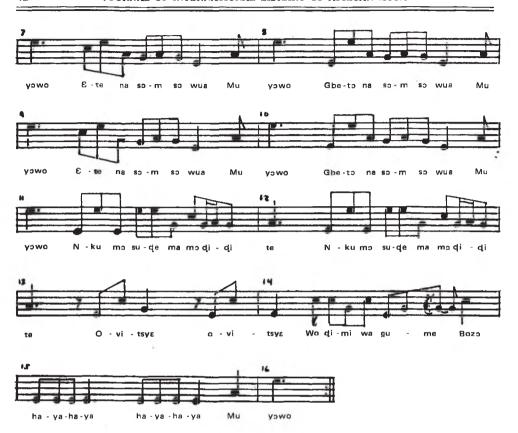
dzi dzi de dzi gade gre Wổ di - mi wầ gù - mề You brought me into the dancing ring dzi dza dza dza dza dza dza dza dza iii	i	 :	ga dzi de ga dzi de O`-ví - tsye ò - vi - tsye Young boy, young boy,
iii Bôzò hã - yà - hã - yà hã - yà - hå - yà And walked (away) roughly, roughly. gi to Mu yówo : I call you! dzi to gi de gi de ga v : E' - tê na sô - m sô wủa Because of this would you kill me? gi to Mu yówo	ii		Wo di -mi wa gù -me
iv Mu yówo : I call you! dzi to gi de gi de ga v : E' - tê na sô - m sô wửa Because of this would you kill me? gi to vi Mu yówo	iii		
v : E' - tê na sô - m sô wủa Because of this would you kill me? gi to vi Mu yówo	iv		Mu yówo :∥
vi Mu yówo	v	:	E'-té na số-m số wủa
	vi		Mu yówo

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ga to gi
                                              de gi
                                                            de
vii
                          Gbe-to na so -m
                                                           så
                                                                  wùa
                          A person to kill me?
                              to
viii
                          Mu yówo :
                          I call you!
                       ga to ga to to de dzi degi de \|: N` - k\acute{u} - m\acute{o} - d\acute{e} - m\acute{o} - m\acute{o} - d\acute{e}
ix
                                                                                      tè :
                          Remember what you have done to me.
                          ga dzi de ga dzi de
O`-vi tsye ò -vi tsy
x
                          Young boy, young boy,
                          dzi dzi de dzi gade gre
Wó di -mi wa gu -mè
хi
                          You brought me into the dancing ring
                          dzi dza dza dza dza dza dza dza dza
Bôzô ha - yà - ha - yà ha - yà - ha - yà
xii
                          And walked (away) roughly, roughly.
                          gi
                                to
                          Mu yśwo
xiii
                          I call you!
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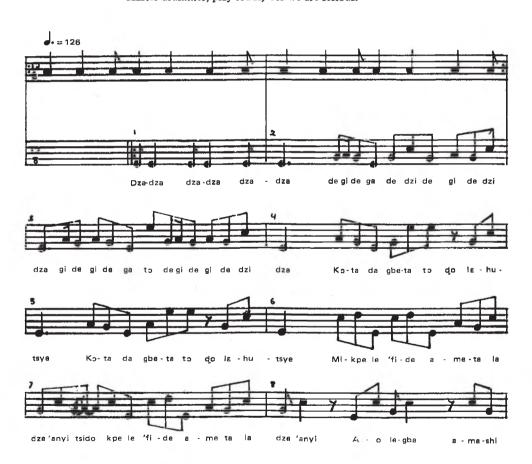




This text makes clear reference to battle and the important role both drummers and the gods have in war. Lines i-iii are vocables which represent introductory drum rhythms. Line iv refers to the (great) strength and endurance needed by the man who plays a war drum. A $L\varepsilon$ drum is made from the $L\varepsilon$ tree whose hard wood is well suited for drums. The dance leader boasts that he and his mates will meet and slaughter their enemies (lines v and vi) with the support of the Adzogbo god, Okplagada (lines vii and viii). As the text ends and the dancing is about to begin the dance leader exhorts the master drummer to play with vigour for the men are anxious to dance with spirit.

i	dzádzá	dzādzā	dzàdzà		
ü	degide	gådedź	i degide	dzidzā	
iii	gidegio	le gàtó	degideg	ide džidza	
	gi (le ga c	ie to t	o de	dzi ga
iv	∥: Kô - t	a da g	gbe - ta 10	0 46 lê	- hú - tsye :
	A stro	ng chest is n	eeded by the	man who pla	ays the $L\varepsilon$ drum.

```
dzi tsi ga
Mi - kpe le
                                  dzi tsi ga gi de dzi
'fi - de à - me - ta la
                                                                dzi te
                                                                           dzi
                                                                     dze
                                                                           anvi
                 When we meet at some place a person's head will fall down.
                 kre dzi ga dzi tsi ga gi de dzi
'Tsiadô kpê lê 'fi - dê å - me - ta lå
                                                        de
                                                                    te
vi
                                                                     dze anvi
                 When a flamboyant dancer meets (another) at some place a person's
                 head will fall down.
                 ga dzi de
                                                          ga dzi
                                 dzi
                                             dzi de
                 A - o le - gba à - ma - shí kpe - le
vii
                 Our god will never fail us,
                     de gi
                                 de
                                        ga
                                              de dzi dza
                 O` -kpla-ga da da 'dzò -hu -tsye
viii
                 Okplagada, the owner of Adzogbo.
                 gi de dzi tə
                 gi de dzi tə gide ga dzi tsi dzi tsi
Dzî - då - hů - tɔ́ kpò - kplò å - då - xɔ́ - lů
                                                                           dzi
ix
                                                                           mi
                 Master drummer, play loudly for we are serious.
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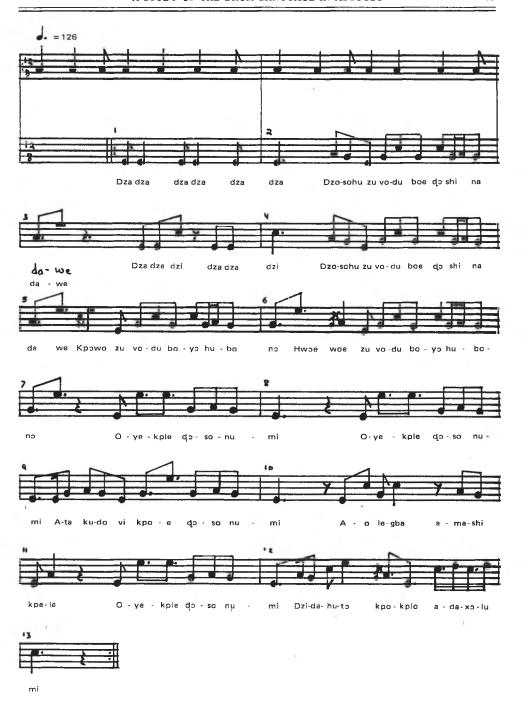






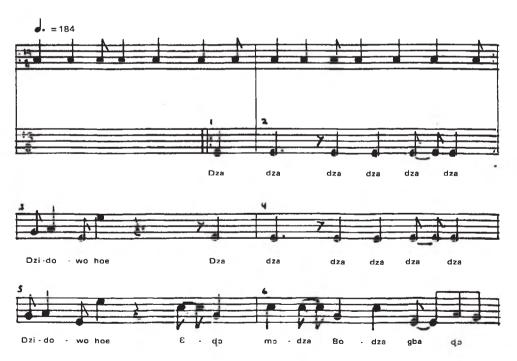
The text of this 'style' concerns the former days of Adzogbo when young boys were secluded in the forest. Certain seeds called Ata and Vi were used to purify one of the boys, Oyekple, who became possessed with the spirit of the god (lines vii and viii). Through Oyekple those in the forest were able to understand the deep meanings of the rhythms of the master drum (line i) and recognize the hyena and lion as sacred creatures which communicated with the priests.

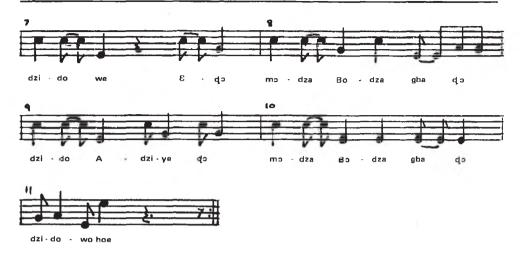
i	dzādzā dzādzā	dza dza (vocables)
ii	Dzò-so -hu zu	de dzi de dzi degi de gi tə $vo - d\vec{u}$ $b\tilde{o}e$ $d\hat{o}$ shi $n\hat{a}$ da $w\hat{e}$ a god and talks to the elders.
iii	dzàdzàdzi dzàdzàdzi	(vocables)
iv	Dzò - sò - hủ zủ	de dzi de dzi degi de gi tə $vo - d\tilde{u}$ $b\tilde{o}e$ $d\tilde{s}$ shi $n\tilde{a}$ da $- w\tilde{e}$ a god and talks to the elders.
v		de dzi de gide gi to bồ - yo hữ - bồ - nỷ d call the priest.
vi		dzi de dzi de gide gi tə $d\dot{u}$ $b\ddot{o}$ - $y_{\bar{o}}$ $h\ddot{u}$ - $b\ddot{o}$ - $n\ddot{\bar{o}}$ call the priest.
vii	ga to to de : O` - yê - kple do - Oyekple reveals all this	so nú - mì :∥
viii	ga de gi de A`-tā kū-dō Ata and Vi reveal all thi	vi kpó e do so nu mi
ix	ga dzi de dzi A`-ó <i>lê</i> -gbā Our gods will never fail	ā -ma-shí kpe-le
x	ga to to de O`-yê-kple do- Oyekple reveals all this	
xi	Dzi - da - hu - to	kre ga dzi tsi dzi tsi dzi $kp\dot{o} \cdot kpl\dot{o}$ \ddot{a} $-d\ddot{a}$ $-x\dot{z}$ $-l\ddot{u}$ $m\dot{i}$ oudly for we are serious.



This text emphasizes the essential function of the gods (Bodza, line iv, a deity associated with Adzogbo) in protecting the dancers and the necessity of giving sacrifices to them. It is believed that the gods must be given nourishment if they are to provide protection to their human followers.

```
i
             ||: dzàdzà
                          dzà dzà dzà (vocables)
                de
                     gi
                                to
                          ga
ii
                Dzi - do - wo
                               hoe :
                It is for people of courage.
                dzi de
                          dzi dzi
iii
             ∥: ε - d3
                          mo - dza
                They asked for sacrifice.
                     dzi
                               gide dzi
                          ga
                                         dzi
                Bo - dza gba - do dzi - do
iv
                                               wee :1
                Bodza also demanded a courageous sacrifice.
                          de
                               dzide dzi
v
                   - dzi
                          νė
                               do mo - dza
                A hen was sacrificed to them.
                dza dza dza de
                                          gi
                                                     to
                                               ga
                                    dzi - do - wo
vi
                Bo - dza gba - dò
                                                     hoė
                (now) Bodza has given us courage.
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Speech tones and drum strokes

We now turn to an analysis of the relationship between speech tones and drum strokes in these six examples in hopes of determining the essential features of Eve drum language. An examination of the correspondence of spoken syllable to drum stroke quickly reveals that in general one spoken syllable is represented by one drum stroke. Occasionally one stroke stands for two syllables (Ex. 3, line iii, "Bozz"). Conversely, one syllable can be represented by several strokes if they are played in a rapid rhythmic figure such as tegi or gide (see Ex. 2, line vii, "Adzolohusu", and line i, "hwemz"). The rule, however, is for one spoken syllable to be represented by one drum stroke.

There is a parallel between the phrasing of the text and the phrasing of the rhythms of the master drum. If the transcriptions are studied it can be seen that in most cases there are short rests in the master drum rhythms which clearly correspond to pauses between significant phrases in the spoken text. The rule is for the musical phrasing of the master drum to follow closely the phrasing in the spoken text.

If we compare the speech tones of the text with the drum strokes of the master drum, certain correspondences become apparent. First, the stroke ga is used to represent syllables having low speech tone. In all six examples there are only three instances in which ga does not represent a low speech tone (Ex. 2. line iv, do, Ex. 4, line vii, kpe, and Ex. 5, line ix, kpe). Second, the strokes dzi, tsi and to are consistently associated with syllables having high speech tones. This can be clearly seen in line ii of Ex. 2 where dzi and tsi are contrasted with ga to represent a HHL HHL speech tone sequence ("midi ye, midi ye, midi ye"), or in line iv of Ex. 3 where to is contrasted with ga to represent a LH L HH ("nku mo sude") speech tone sequence. We conclude, therefore, that ga, dzi, tsi and to are strokes which have a fixed relationship to speech tones: ga is associated with syllables having low speech tone while dzi, tsi and to are associated with syllables having high speech tone.

The relationship of the strokes de and gi to speech tones is not as clear. They can be associated with syllables having low, mid and high speech tone. In Ex. 1, for

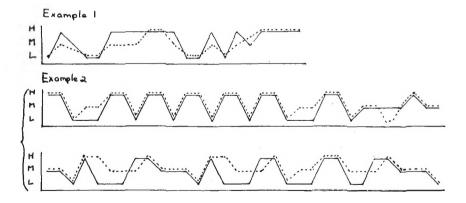
instance, de and gi represent syllables with high speech tones (line iii "nugbe") while in Ex. 2 they represent syllables having both low (line i, "hwemo") and mid tones (line iv, "togba do toke").

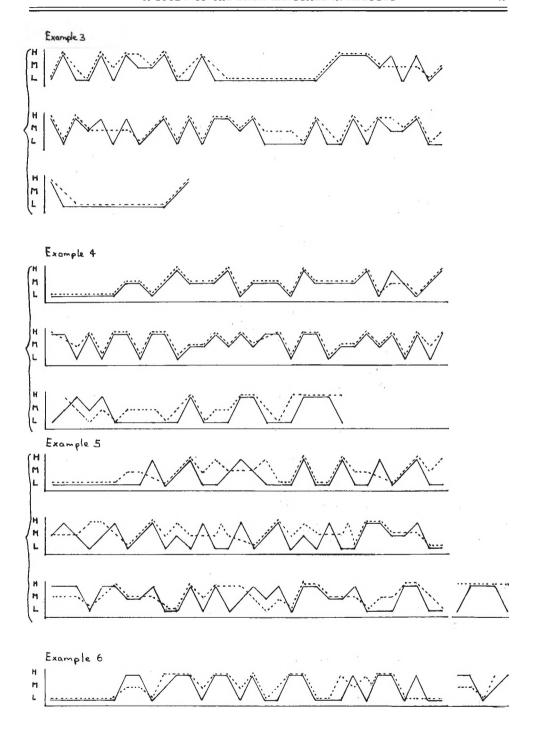
The use of de and gi to represent syllables of low and high tones can be explained by examining their position within a tonal sequence. When de and gi are associated with high tones they usually are preceded or followed by ga (Ex. 1, line ii, "na dequ do") and, conversely, when de and gi correspond to low tones they are usually preceded or followed by dzi, tsi or to (Ex. 2, line i, "hwemo midi" or Ex. 5, line ix, "Ao legba"). We find that de and gi can have a relative relationship to speech tone: They can represent syllables with low tone when preceded or followed by a stroke having a fixed high tone and they can represent syllables with high tone when preceded or followed by a stroke having a fixed low tone.

From a purely aural point of view, however, de and gi clearly have a mid character when compared to ga on the one hand and dzi, tsi and to on the other. Statistical analysis supports this observation. By counting the times de and gi are used to represent the three kinds of syllables we discover the following percentages: de: low -37%, mid -39%, high -24%; gi: low -36%, mid -45%, high -19%. Furthermore, when Mr. Agbeli analysed the speech tones of the introductory texts he consistently assigned mid tone to the vocables de and gi. We conclude, therefore, that de and gi are inherently associated with syllables having mid tone.

The supplementary drum strokes, dza, kre, gre, vle and vlo, assume the character of their associated basic strokes. Thus dza has a fixed relationship to low tones, vlo has a fixed relationship with high tones and vle, gre and kre are inherently mid-tone but have a relative relationship to speech tone which depends on their position within a tonal sequence. The basic stroke kpa has no function in drum language.⁸

The following graphs compare the overall rhythms of the master drum and the general contour of the speech tone pattern in each example. This graphic representation clearly shows the close correspondence between the speech tone patterns and their associated sequences of master drum strokes. In the graphs, "_____" is used for speech tones while "____" is used for drum strokes.





It is evident from these graphs that the rise and fall of speech tones in the spoken texts is mirrored in the rhythms of the master drum. It is not necessary, however, for a low speech tone always to be represented by ga, a mid speech tone by de or gi, or a high tone by dzi, tsi or to. The drum language is understood as long as the overall contour of the speech tone pattern is reflected in the sequence of drum strokes.

Exceptions, such as the use of to and dzi to represent low-toned syllables (lines ii "dawe" and line xi, "mi" in Ex. 5) do occur. They usually happen when musical considerations preempt strict adherence to the general rule of correspondence between speech tone and drum stroke, as in prominent themes or cadential phrases.

In Ex. 5, for instance, lines ii, iv, v and vi of the text end with a low-toned syllable but the corresponding atsimevu phrases end with to. This exception to the rule is explained by musical elements in the atsimevu part. Measures 1-8 of the atsimevu part are quite similar: lines ii and iv are identical, separated by a short interjection, dzadzadzi dzadzadzi, while lines v and vi are identical in rhythm but contain a tonal/timbral contrast between vlo and vle. Each of these four lines contains the theme, gadedzi degide gito (see Fig. 2) in which the fragment gito is the culminating tonal and rhythmic element.



Tonally, the high pitched to imparts a feeling of finality; rhythmically, the figure gito () creates the key rhythmic contrast of the phrase, a brief 2: 3 horizontal cross-rhythm against the previous groups of eighth notes (). The musical importance of to in the phrases overrides the general rule of stroke/syllable correspondence.

Line xi of Ex. 5 (measures 12 and 13) contains one of the clear cadential formulas in Adzogbo (see Fig. 3).



The climactic phrase of this formula is a figure of four dotted-sixteenth notes which creates a feeling of rushing toward the concluding note. The same cadential formula is used to end Ex. 4 (measures 10 and 11) as well. The use of dzi and tsi in this cadential formula obviates the need for an exact parallel between stroke and tone at this point. We conclude that the rule is for the sequence of drum strokes to follow closely the contour of the speech tone pattern, but the rule may be suspended where musical considerations dominate.

In conclusion we can summarize the basic rules of Eve drum language as follows:

- 1. One drum stroke normally represents one syllable.
- 2. Rhythmic phrases correspond to speech phrases.

- 3. Six basic strokes are used to represent the three tones of the Eve language:
 - a. Certain strokes have a fixed relationship to tone, i.e. ga to low tone, dzi, tsi and to to high tone.
 - b. Other strokes, de and gi, are inherently mid tone but have a relative relationship to tone, i.e. assuming low tone when preceded or followed by dzi, tsi and to or high tone when preceded or followed by ga.
- 4. The contour of the speech tone pattern is mirrored in the sequence of drum strokes.
- 5. Musical factors may temporarily suspend the principle of correspondence between speech tone and drum stroke.

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NOTES

- For a more detailed discussion of these strokes see Locke and Agbeli, to appear.
- A bouncing stroke is one in which the stick or hand strikes and is brought away from the vellum allowing it to vibrate freely. A pressed stroke is one in which the stick or hand strikes and is kept in contact with the

- vellum.

 Pantaleoni, 1972, pp. 65-71.

 Jones, 1959, pp. 61-67.

 The correspondence between our set of vocables and Jones' plates is as follows:

 Jones' plate no. vii standardized syllable de on kagan; viii to on kidi; ix de; x to; xi to; xii dza; xiii dzi, all on atsinevi; xiv ga, xv dzi; xvi dzi, all on sogo.

 Westerman (1930, p. 26) says that there are three simple tones, high, low and middle, and two compound tones, rising and falling, in the Eve language. Mr Agbeli found only the three simple tones in the Adzogbo texts. We have marked them as follows: high tone, acute accent ('), mid tone, horizontal line (-) and low tone, grave accent (').
- tone, grave accent ().

 Corresponding figures for the other strokes are: ga: low 97%, mid 3%; dzi: low 9%, mid 9%, high 82%; tsi: high 100%; ta: low 8%, high 92%.
- 8 While having no function in drum language kpa has four important roles in Eve drumming:
 - A rapid series of kpa strokes in free rhythm calls group members to attention.
 The master drum uses kpa strokes to play the bell rhythm to establish the time referent when the music begins, if there is a tempo change, or if the bell player fallers.
 The master drummer uses kpa to maintain his timing and sustain musical interest between phrases of
 - drum language.
 - A basic principle of drumming with one hand and one stick is that both hands should always be active: kpa enables the stick hand to be active even when it is not needed to manifest drum language.